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97TH CONGRESS } HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES { REPORT
2d Session } { No. 97-860

FREE EXERCISE OF RELIGION IN UKRAINE

SEPTEMBER 23, 1982.—Referred to the House Calendar and ordered to be printed

Mr. ZABLOCKI, from the Committee on Foreign Affairs, submitted the following

REPORT

together with

ADDITIONAL VIEWS

[To accompany S. Con. Res. 18]

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The Committee on Foreign Affairs, to whom was referred the concurrent resolution (S. Con. Res. 18) relating to the restoration of the free exercise of religion in Ukraine, having considered the same, report favorably thereon without amendment and recommend that the concurrent resolution do pass.

COMMITTEE ACTION

Senate Concurrent Resolution 18, which passed the Senate on June 19, 1981, was referred to the Committee on Foreign Affairs on June 22, 1981. It was subsequently referred jointly to the Subcommittees on Human Rights and International Organizations and on Europe and the Middle East on June 30, 1981.

On July 27, 1982, the Subcommittee on Human Rights and International Organizations met and ordered reported, by voice vote, Senate Concurrent Resolution 18. The Subcommittee on Europe and the Middle East deferred to the Subcommittee on Human Rights and International Organizations. On August 10, 1982, the Committee on Foreign Affairs met and ordered favorably reported Senate Concurrent Resolution 18.

COMMITTEE COMMENTS

During full committee consideration of Senate Concurrent Resolution 18, members expressed support for the resolution and noted that it is similar to House Concurrent Resolution 123, which had been introduced by Representative Edward J. Derwinski. Provisions of Senate Concurrent Resolution 18 state that the Charter of the United

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Nations, as well as the Universal Declaration of Human Rights call for international cooperation in promoting respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms and that the Constitution of the Soviet Union also provides for freedom of conscience and religion. The resolution further refers to the attempted Soviet genocide of both the Ukrainian Orthodox and Ukrainian Catholic Churches and the repression of religious institutions in Ukraine and calls on the Soviet Union to permit the resurrection of both churches and other independent religions in Ukraine.

Members also expressed deep concern over the repression of religious freedom in Ukraine by Soviet authorities and agreed that a committee report should be prepared to recall the nature of Soviet repression of the right of religious freedom and expression in Ukraine. The following has accordingly been prepared and is based on authoritative accounts and consultation with interested members.

Prior to World War II, Moscow almost destroyed institutional religion in Ukraine. In the mid-1930's, Stalin abolished the independent Ukrainian Orthodox Church which had consisted of 5 metropolitans, 30 archbishops and bishops, 26,000 priests, and 3,000 parishes; and the millions of members were forced into the Russian Orthodox Church. A few years later, when Soviet troops entered Western Ukraine, Moscow began its assault against the Ukrainian Catholic Church. Hundreds of priests were exiled to Siberia and were executed; the Soviets also killed lay intelligentsia and destroyed libraries and cooperatives.

During World War II, the liquidation of institutional religion in Ukraine continued at the hands of the Soviets and German invaders, despite the protests of the Reverend Sheptytzky, metropolitan of the Ukrainian Catholic Church since 1900, and his followers. In 1941 Soviet forces and secret police (NKVD), retreating from the Germans, committed mass murders of Ukrainian Catholics, including hundreds of priests. The German occupiers then deported more than 3 million Ukrainians to Germany as slave laborers and sent many priests to concentration camps at Dachau and Oswiecim. When the Soviets recaptured Ukraine in 1944, Soviet leaders reestablished the Moscow Orthodox Patriarchate which, in 1945, elected a personal friend of Stalin's and nominee of the Soviet Government, Alexei, as Patriarch. The Patriarch's role was to displace both Orthodox and Catholic Churches, absorb their following, and reunite their members in Soviet patriotism within the Russian Orthodox Church. To this end, the Patriarch and the Soviet authorities dispatched NKVD-trained Russian Orthodox bishops and priests—to Ukraine to undermine the remnants of the Ukrainian churches. A series of arrests, deportations, and mass killings of clergy and laity by the NKVD resulted in the exile of 8 Catholic bishops, including Bishop Slipy (now cardinal at the Vatican) the destruction of over 4,000 churches and chapels, and 142 monasteries and convents, and the death of 2,638 priests of the Ukrainian Catholic Church. A mock "Synod" attended by 216 Ukrainian priests, the majority of whom were reportedly NKVD agents disguised as priests—proclaimed the "official reunion" of the Ukrainian Catholic Church with the Russian Orthodox Church in March 1946. In short, members of the church were forced to go underground or embrace the Russian Orthodox Church, the tool of the Kremlin.

Despite this repression, Ukrainian SSR was reported to have the greatest number of religious communities in the Soviet Union, including half of the Orthodox Churches in Ukraine, sectarian congregations—Baptists, Adventists, and Pentacostals—and the catacomb Ukrainian Catholic Church by the end of the 1950's. But, Khrushchev's antireligious campaign (1959–64) resulted in closing more than three quarters of the local monasteries and seminaries. By 1962, the Soviet press reported that only 20 to 30 churches remained open in each of the "older" rural Ukrainian provinces.

Despite a shift in Moscow's attitude toward the Vatican in the early 1960's when the Soviets authorized the Patriarchate to send observers to the Vatican Council and released the long-imprisoned primate, Metropolitan Joseyf Slipy, the Soviets stepped up harassment of "recalcitrant clergy." In 1969, the KGB (successor to the NKVD) arrested Bishop Vasyl Velychkovsky and two priests for alleged violations of the "law of cults." (The Bishop was released in 1972 and emigrated to the West.) Father Vasyl Romaniuk, Orthodox, arrested in 1972 for "anti-Soviet education and propaganda" was sentenced to 7 years in prison and 3 years in exile and in 1982 Father Myron Saszhurakovsky, also Orthodox, was sentenced to 2 years for informing Moscow dissidents about religious persecution in Ukraine.

Despite continued Soviet repression and an active propaganda campaign against the Ukrainian Catholic Church and in support of atheism, the underground church carries on its precarious catacomb activities with 3 bishops, some 300 clergy, an unknown number of monastics who combine religious work with their secular occupations and some 7 million members who at considerable risk, worship secretly. According to the Soviet press, over 2,000 prayer, psalm, and church service books have been secretly printed in the state printing establishments of Lviv to serve both Ukrainian Catholics and Rusisan Orthodox clergy and laity. Ukrainian Catholics have also petitioned Moscow to legalize their illegally suppressed church.

A careful distinction must be made between religious persecution in the Soviet Union in general and the religious genocide of the members of the Ukrainian churches in particular. The Ukrainian people are the most numerous of the non-Russian peoples within the Soviet Union. The have a distinct language and literature, a strong cultural tradition, and deep religious convictions—76 percent are Orthodox and 13.5 percent Catholic of the Eastern Rite. The two traditional Ukrainian churches—the Ukrainian Orthodox and Ukrainian Catholic Churches—are often called expressions of the soul of the nation. As one authority has said, the two churches "have been objects of Soviet Russian genocide" and "this paramount fact of religious genocide" separates the two from most other cases of religious persecution in the U.S.S.R." [1] Neither church is recognized by Soviet Russian authorities as existent today, but the churches' spiritual significance for the Ukraine nation serves as a rallying point for the subject peoples of Ukraine. If the opportunity for genuine freedom of worship were given to the "catacomb" Catholic and Orthodox believers in the Soviet Union and in Ukraine, both churches would likely be restored.[1]

[1] Dr. Lev E. Dobriansky, professor of economics, Georgetown University, Washington, D.C.

Soviet treatment of the Ukrainian churches stands in marked contradiction to the Soviet Constitution, article 124, which provides for freedom of worship. It stands in violation of the Charter of the United Nations to which the Soviet Union is a party and to the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. Finally, it stands in violation of the Helsinki Accords, also signed by the Soviet Union.

In response to this outrageous deprivation of religious freedom, Senate Concurrent Resolution 18 expresses the sense of the Congress that the President of the United States should take steps to call upon the Soviet Government to permit the resurrection of the Ukrainian Orthodox and Catholic Churches and other religious institutions in Ukraine, to use contacts with Soviet officials to secure freedom of religion in Ukraine, and to bring to the attention of all national and international religious councils the nature of this violation of basic human rights with an appeal that the resources of these organizations be utilized for attaining the objectives of this resolution.

REQUIRED REPORTS SECTION

Cost estimate

The adoption of Senate Concurrent Resolution 18 will not result in any cost to the U.S. Government.

Inflationary impact statement

Senate Concurrent Resolution 18 does not involve the authorization of funds for any purpose. Therefore, the adoption of Senate Concurrent Resolution 18 will have no impact on inflationary forces.

Statements required by clause (l)(3) of House rule XI

(*a*) *Oversight findings and recommendations.*—Pursuant to the committee action, cited earlier in the report, the committee recommends that the resolution be approved by the full House.

(*b*) *Budget authority.*—The adoption of Senate Concurrent Resolution 18 will create no new budget authority.

(*c*) *Committee on Government operations summary.*—No report was received from the Committee on Government Operations under clause 4(c)(2) of rule X of the rules of the House.

(*d*) *Congressional Budget Office cost estimate.*—No cost estimate was received from the Congressional Budget Office.

ADDITIONAL VIEWS OF HON. EDWARD J. DERWINSKI

I have long been concerned over the situation of religion in Ukraine. The condition of the churches and of the practice of religion in that Russified state has reached such a level that on May 1, 1981, I introduced a resolution, House Concurrent Resolution 123, so that the attention of the Congress, the administration and of national and international religious bodies would be brought to bear on these crimes.

The national churches of Ukraine—the Ukrainian Orthodox and Catholic Churches—and other religious institutions have been subjected not only to religious and civil repression but physical extermination as well by the Soviet authorities. Voluminous evidence has been placed in the record of the Subcommittee on Human Rights and International Organizations detailing the extent of religious repression in Ukraine.

Inasmuch as the Senate on June 19, 1981, passed Senate Concurrent Resolution 18, essentially the same as House Concurrent Resolution 123, it was decided that the House Subcommittee on Human Rights and International Organizations, under the chairmanship of Mr. Don Bonker, and the full Committee on Foreign Affairs, chaired by Mr. Clement Zablocki, would report out the Senate version. Both chairmen were very helpful in processing this measure. Passage of Senate Concurrent Resolution 18 by the House would avoid the need for a House/Senate conference.

EDWARD J. DERWINSKI.

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